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AUTHOR Bethel, Elizabeth R.; Bethel, James A.  
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## ABSTRACT

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A DIALECTIC MODEL OF MASS COMMUNICATION

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Elizabeth R. Bethel and James A. Bethel\*

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\*Ms. Bethel (Ph.D., University of Oklahoma, 1974) is Assistant Professor of Sociology, Lander College, Greenwood, South Carolina.

Mr. Bethel (Ph.D., University of Oklahoma, 1974) is Assistant Professor of Communication, Purdue University, Indiana-Purdue University at Fort Wayne.

## A DIALECTIC MODEL OF MASS COMMUNICATION

That neither message nor effect of that message occurs in isolation is not a new statement. Klapper<sup>1</sup> suggested it over a decade ago and both Schramm<sup>2</sup> and DeFleur<sup>3</sup> have made small fortunes by re-reminding us that these phenomena are tied to other elements in the social world. Yet empirical explorations of mass communication phenomena seem to pay mere lip-service to the statement's implications.

Two theoretic perspectives, one emphasizing audience/receiver/message effect and the other concentrating on the nature and thrust of the message, have dominated past examinations of mass communication phenomena. These foci, while important, have developed into a central and fundamental weakness by virtue of their having been over-emphasized to the exclusion of other considerations. "Neither message nor effect of that message occurs in isolation"--both phenomena are tied to other elements in the social world.

This paper presents a conceptual model of the mass communication process which integrates these previously emphasized paradigms with a concern for and emphasis upon media-society interdependence. The model is predicated on the assumption that media-society interdependence is a primary antecedent to mass media outputs; as such, any examination of those outputs without consideration of the antecedent interrelationship is a futile and counter-productive enterprise.

The discussion is in three sections. The first outlines some of the basic deficiencies of current perspectives commonly employed in mass communication studies. An enumeration of those components of the social structure which are particularly salient to the mass communication process are discussed in the second section; and a presentation of the

model and a discussion of its utility in future mass communication research constitutes the third section.

# I

Initial interest in the power and effect of mass media occurred during and immediately following World War II, focusing on the study of wartime propaganda and, then, on the rhetoric of the cold war. This initial impetus resulted in a conceptual as well as empirical tendency to overlook the more subtle and covert aspects of mass media functions and formularies in favor of the simpler message-effect perspective.<sup>4</sup> The post war/cold war period tended to focus almost exclusively on the style, form, and content of the message, per se; there was considerable neglect of societal and environmental conditions from which various media emanated.<sup>5</sup> Analyses which focused on the message alone, and the power which that message has over the receiving masses, offered only minimal insight into the complexities of the mass communication process as a total communication phenomenon.

In contrast to the traditional thrust of research to examine power and force of the media themselves, Wright's<sup>6</sup> study is unique. The focus is extended to three separate but interrelated components of the phenomenon: audience, communication experience, and communicator. The audience, in his conceptualization, is characterized as "relatively large, heterogeneous, and anonymous."<sup>7</sup> The communication experience is unique from the interpersonal [communication] transaction in that it is "public, rapid and transient. . . [and] its ability to reach large audiences in a brief time span suggests potential social power in its impact."<sup>8</sup> The communicator, in Wright's formulation, is viewed not as the lone individual, but as the visible member/representative of a complex organization--the media system.

Wright's phenomenological characterization of the communicator seems to disappear from the literature of mass media empiricism, although it is echoed in articulate, if not strident, terms within the rhetoric of political sociology, and particularly in the works of C. Wright Mills.<sup>9</sup>

Blumer has suggested that attempts to study and understand media via their content alone seems a futile enterprise. Media content changes not only from medium to medium, but is also highly variable within a single medium.

This changing character of the presentations is true obviously of all mass media--motion pictures, newspapers, radio programs, and television programs. Mass media are geared to a moving world: all of them. . . seek new presentations. . .<sup>10</sup>

Change, Blumer argues, has become not only a central theme underlying the formulation of media content, but a focal concern of media professionals as well. He suggests that future studies of media should seek to understand the interaction between media and society, or societal variables; and this concern should function to guide methodological as well as theoretical questions for media oriented research.

In an attempt to establish a conceptual foundation for this posited interaction, DeFleur has suggested that mass media be studied as social systems operating with a larger social system context. Such an approach does offer the potential of overcoming the fragmentation and conceptual isolation of various aspects of media research. It suggests a concern for both the audience/communication experience as well as the media-as-communicator paradigm:

No medium of communication exists in a social vacuum. It is tied inextricably to complex and changing societal constraints. The older idea that media are independent forces, shaping and molding the society as they wish is simplistic and outmoded. The development of a given medium and what it presents to society are dependent not only upon the characteristics of the medium itself but upon the salient norms and values of the sociocultural system within which it operates.<sup>11</sup>

The difficulty with DeFleur's particular systems approach is that it evolves into a dualism of media and society which is open to question at the empirical level. He asserts that media can be validly studied as "social systems which operate within a specific external system--the set of social and cultural conditions that is the American society itself."<sup>12</sup> Having recognized the larger, external system, DeFleur then turns to a consideration of media as a separate system.

There are two fundamental weaknesses in the DeFleur position. First, the validity of the assumption that all mass communication media are formulated for the same general purpose (implicit in his systemic suggestion)

simply cannot be supported. Indeed, data from a variety of sources would offer evidence to the contrary. Recent research by Maisel summarizes present trends in media, characterizing all varieties as becoming increasingly specialized and differentiated in function. The same specialization and differentiation typifies growth patterns within a single medium. Maisel suggests that "we must abandon the outmoded view of the individual as simply the recipient of standardized messages emanating from the mass media" and focus attention on the variety (emphasis ours) of media sources available for communication transactions between both individuals and groups within the total social system.<sup>13</sup>

The other major weakness of the DeFleur perspective involves the relationship between media, approached as a separate social system, and that larger social system which he terms "American society itself." His system-within-a-system approach eventually leads to an isolation and separation of media from "external" influences. There is sufficient evidence to suggest that information monopoly and control is based not within the media system, but beyond it. Schiller, for example, documents the abject lack of intramedia competition in the presentation of any body of material or information to the viewing/listening/reading public.<sup>14</sup> His statistical report would tend to negate any ideology of a "free press" and imply rather that the media system is serving as the visible organ for underlying, oftentimes covert and subtle, vested interests. As cited earlier, DeFleur does take note of the growth of media within a social structure, thus implying interdependency. The difficulty is that he does not go far enough in his examination of the media system-larger social system relationship and winds up focusing again on the media-receiver system. The attempt to simplify becomes oversimplification and, eventually, reductionistic.

We feel that the root of the problem is to be found in DeFleur's decidedly Durkheimian perspective. The approach to social systems is grounded in a concern for organic solidarity which, in turn, leads to still more empirical focus upon intensity and frequency of receiver contacts.

The efficacy of the traditional message-centered approach to mass communication study is called into question by several sources. Studies such as those by Lewis<sup>15</sup> and Rosi<sup>16</sup> indicate that media are not funnels

which provide direct and pure transmission for information and events to a body of listeners/readers/viewers; rather, knowledge of the events themselves is often distorted or even consciously withheld from the receiving public. This potential power to control information was early alluded to by Lang and Lang,<sup>17</sup> but their emphasis was on the technological rather than the managerial aspects of that control. Both Lewis and Rosi suggest that the distortions are, at least in part, a function of editorial/managerial decisions.

These two theoretic perspectives — the audience/receiver/message effect paradigm and that which focuses upon the nature and thrust of the message — undoubtedly play important contributory roles in the mass communication process. Any derivation of a conceptual model for future mass communication research must incorporate these elements. It should be apparent, however, that a model which limits itself to these perspectives will be inherently weak. Such a formulation must provide, in addition, a basis for examining covert power sources which underly the media-society relationship, which in turn dictate media content. Finally, a basis for reconciling the message-to-mass audience perspective of mass communication studies with the more recent (eg. Maisel) evidence indicating specialization of both media sources and audience/publics must be incorporated into the formulation.

## II

Modeling, as an antecedent or guide to the scientific enterprise, must meet two basic conditions according to Brodbeck.<sup>18</sup> First, a model must contain all of the elements perceived to be operant in the "real thing," and those elements must relate in a one-to-one correspondence. Second, the relations between the elements must be preserved. Our model is an outgrowth of and an attempt to compensate for those conceptual and empirical weaknesses in the study of mass communication noted in the previous section; it provides a conceptual foundation for the development of hypotheses for future research. Its weaknesses will be immediately apparent. It lacks a completed empirical foundation and there



is no basis for assuming that all the salient components have been identified. Yet it proposes a perspective based not on functional system maintenance, but on the dynamics of interaction and change. It views mass media and its role in mass communication as part of a larger societal dialectic and therein lies its strength.

#### Mass Media and Its Content

Of central importance to the model are the persons and/or groups who own or control (ownership in the present case implies de facto control) the media systems. Schiller's survey indicates that ownership is vested in a small minority of individuals/groups; and, further, that "the mass media, and broadcasting in particular, are highly profitable commercial enterprises."<sup>19</sup> It can be assumed, then, that any given media system (a medium, en toto, or a specific organization — NBC, CBS, ABC — within a given medium) can be in part understood as an extension of its controllers, and as an economic, profit-oriented enterprise. That is, a medium or media-organization can be assumed to be an agent, acting/broadcasting in the [economic] interests of its owners. Identification of specific vested interests held by controlling individuals or groups then becomes vital in understanding the thrust of the medium itself. In short, media content cannot be understood without inquiry into the underlying interests of those persons who own the media systems.

Traditionally, an a priori assumption of persuasive intent has been incorporated into the study of media messages especially with regard to advertising and commercial appeals. Media practitioners would probably deny that their soap operas, evening newscasts, game shows, cops-and-robbers encounters and electronic surgical suites are designed to persuade, yet from at least one research perspective both entertainment and information programs are as persuasive in their way as are commercials (see, for example, Seggar and Thomer<sup>20</sup> and the Surgeon General's Report on Television and Social Behavior).<sup>21</sup> These perspectives suggest yet another function — socialization. This function is linked to the initial notion of persuasion in that the socialization process seeks to inculcate a given set of values and norms, held by a community at large, into an individual who seeks or aspires to membership in that community.



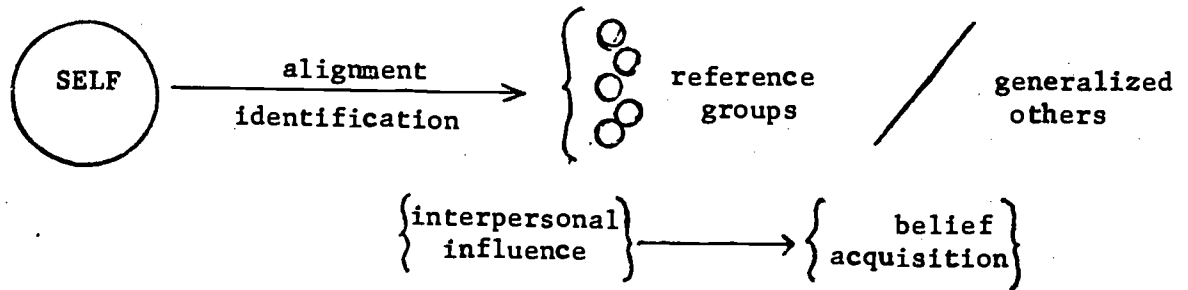
In post-industrial settings, with the introduction of cable television and emphasis upon diversification of perspectives currently being manifest in the print media, it seems only logical to suggest that another potential function, in addition to persuasion, is instrumentality. Such a function may take a wide variety of forms, ranging from weather reports/warnings to stock market reports to announcements of (local) community events.<sup>22</sup> As Wright has noted, the message and data emitted from mass media hold the potential for becoming "tools for daily living." Data which flow from the mass media, it is posited, can serve a wide variety of functions, including but not limited to: persuasion, entertainment, and instrumental system maintenance.

While it is possible that an infinite list of media functions could be derived, there is greater utility in developing a system of categorizing the various functions which differential content appear to serve. Merton has suggested that the terms "knowledge" and "information" be employed to characterize two distinct forms of sociology of knowledge.<sup>23</sup> The former refers to systematically related thought/idea/value systems, whereas the latter suggests "aggregates of discrete tidbits."<sup>24</sup> These two terms will be employed here to describe a basic dichotomy of media content. The persuasion-related contents, including all varieties of socialization, will be viewed as knowledge-related, and those items which have been termed instrumental will be described as information.

These two basic elements — one, the owner/controller-media relationship; and two, the knowledge-information dichotomy of media content — form the core of the model to be proposed. Questions relating to the tie between these two elements would include: In what ways do the owner/controllers influence and/or affect the balance between knowledge and information transmitted by any given medium? What societal variables are operant in the decisions made by owners/controllers in determining media content (e.g., economic, political, religious and educational demands and considerations)? At what point and by what criteria are discrete bits of information tied in to a systematic knowledge system? That is, at what point and under what conditions is "information" converted to "knowledge?"

Central issues which the model seeks to address are the social factors involved in the acquisition, diffusion, and growth of specific thought/belief systems. It is a basic sociological principle that we are taught, either overtly

Figure 1.



or covertly, the majority of our beliefs and behaviors in the primary group setting (e.g., family, peer group, work group, and the like). The process of socialization traditionally has been conceptualized as focused in and through interpersonal relationships. This basic paradigm, in simplified form, is illustrated in Figure 1, above.

The early hypodermic model of omnipotent media<sup>25</sup> and subsequent two-step flow<sup>26</sup> sought to address diffusion and growth of belief systems as tied to both interpersonal and media communication. The central failure of these initial formulations was a failure to examine, within the paradigm, the fundamental and antecedent inputs to the belief system as being media-related. An underlying assumption of the present model is that inquiry into those antecedent inputs is essential to understanding the role and power of mass media in contemporary society.

Figure 2.

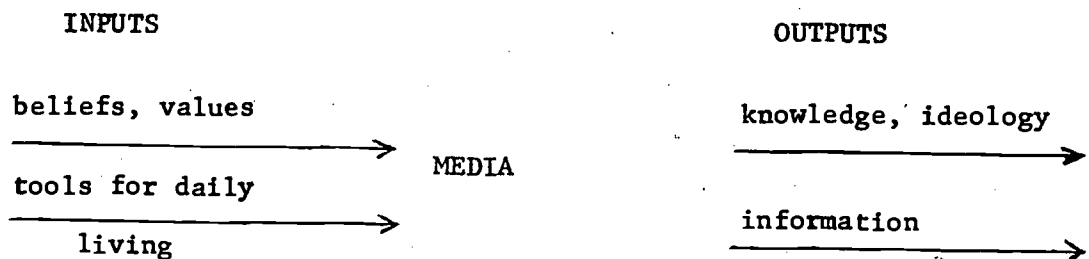


Figure 2 above suggests the screening process/role which the mass media serve in this diffusion of belief systems. Such a perspective has the

advantage, when combined with the {interpersonal influence → belief acquisition} framework, of attributing to the mass media the capacity to both define and to articulate collective reality.

PREMISE I: Mass Media are part of the forces of production.<sup>27</sup>

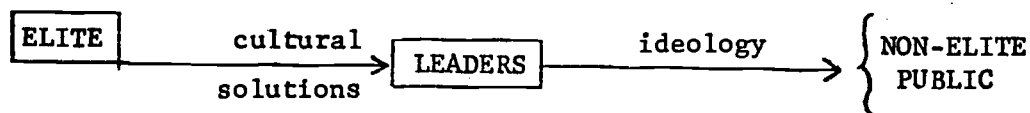
The primary product or service which is their output is ideology.<sup>28</sup>

From this premise it can be deduced that the belief and value system most frequently disseminated through the mass media is a reflection of the interests and values of the owners/controllers of the media. Thus, ideology is introduced into the model as a dependent variable, the antecedent being the relations of production within which the mass media are confined.

### Transmission of Ideologies

Aristotle formulated a conceptual distinction between the social roles of the philosopher and the rhetorician. The philosopher's social responsibility was the determination of morality, the abstraction of good and bad, right and wrong; these abstractions were then brokered to the citizenry by the rhetorician. Mannheim has made a similar distinction in his dichotomization of the social roles of intellectuals. The "elite" function to create and preserve cultural solutions, and "leaders" to seek pragmatic application of those solutions to public problems.<sup>29</sup> In this formulation, then, the philosopher/elite does not engage in direct communication with the masses, the publics, the citizenry. Rather, it is the rhetorician/leader who engages in the more direct diffusion of "cultural solutions," in the practical application of collective morality.

Figure 3.



In effect, the elite are not visible to the citizenry at large, but stand as effective although hidden controllers of prevailing ideologies.

PREMISE II: Elites, while generally not visible to non-elites, are, because of their various specialties, in a unique and strategic position to assess and

reflect the experiences and subsequent vulnerabilities of various non-elite social categories.\*

Several important considerations are posited within this premise. First, there is an initial assumption that elites function within specialized areas rather than as value/belief generalists. That is, following the trend of the differentiation and specialization characteristic of the post-industrial society, the elites function differentially. The same assumption is made for non-elites. While there are some elements of the belief and value system which function as a common strand, uniting all members of the society, there are other components of the knowledge system which are specific to certain social categories of non-elites. It is these differential variants of the belief and value system which are utilized by the elites in formulating specific ideologically based media outputs.

As the second premise is tied to the first, the logical conclusion is that there is a direct bond between mass media owner/controllers and the dominant elite. One key to this implied relationship is the use of the term "specialties." It is assumed that the vast growth and complexity of post-industrial society is conducive to continual diversification of human labor. Indeed, it is feasible to suggest that one particularly salient specialty would be that of thought manipulator. Such an elite category would be appropriate to the present concern with the growth and dissemination of ideology within the mass media. A more logical approach, however, is to suggest that there is a group of elites within the owners/controllers, or closely affiliated with them, who are able to derive the basic components of an effective ideology [at any given point in time]. Premise I would demand that this ideology be consistent with and supportive of the vested interests of the owners/controllers.

PREMISE III: Ideologies are generated within the relations of production, and supportive of those relations.

This third premise can be incorporated into the previously posited relationships in a fairly simple way, as illustrated below:

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\*Those familiar with Mannheim and with the work of Kornhauser<sup>30</sup> will recognize that this premise is not original with us, but represents a synthesis of their positions.

Figure 4.

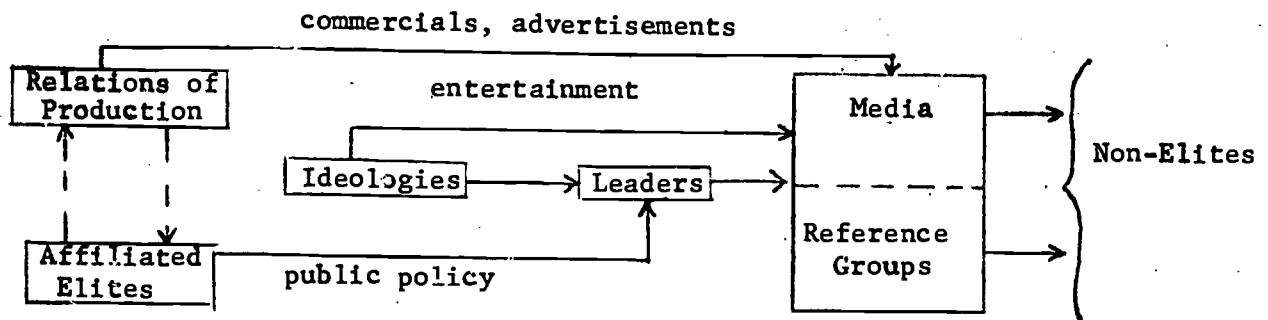


Figure 4 outlines several sources for various media-related outputs. We now will turn to a needed consideration of the societal dialectic and the dynamics of change which were suggested initially as being a central advantage of the present model over previously posited mass communication theoretic frameworks.

#### Utopian Perspectives

Mannheim introduces the concept of unattached, or unaffiliated elites, persons who are relatively free to offer and derive thought systems which are alternatives to prevailing ideologies.<sup>31</sup> Mannheim's criterion for distinguishing between an "ideology" and a "utopia" is the potential for its realization, in concrete terms, in a proximate future. This criterion must be coupled with an equally important consideration — the antithetical [to the prevailing relations of production] nature of the alternative perspective. Unattached elites will be viewed as those dealers in idea and value systems who are not tied to the dominant forces/relations of production. They are, in a sense, the intellectual mavericks, not tied to a single value-belief system, but free to explore and experiment with a variety of diverse systems.<sup>32</sup>

In addition to a concern for unaffiliated elites, it is essential to the development and dissemination of utopian perspectives to incorporate the notion of the proletarian leader, a leader who emerges not from the elite/forces of production alignment, but from the non-elites. This emergence can be attributed to the accumulation of surplus resources. Such resources (money, education, and the like) can be controlled by that individual, or a group of individuals, and various alternatives exist for its expenditure. These alternatives are then explored through utopian value and belief systems.

Admittedly, the concept of utopian value-belief perspectives is the most abstract of the components discussed. It will be helpful to tie the concept to some concrete realities within the current system of mass media communication forms. Over the last few years a number of mass-oriented magazines (e.g., Look, Colliers, Saturday Evening Post) ceased publication. The cause of their demise has been explained primarily in economic terms. Life editor Chris Welles has explained the economic nuances of the publishing business in this way: "The most financially successful magazines of the past ten years have been designed to appeal to highly particularized intellectual, vocational and avocational interests."<sup>33</sup> Growth of minority oriented mass communication, which now includes all media except television, is also indicative of the emergence of leadership capable of articulating belief and value systems not consistent with that characterizing the dominant relations of production.\* As these various alternative forms of belief and value systems are increasingly incorporated into the mass media it becomes possible to understand the dialectic process inherent in the mass media-society relationship.

The unidirectional elite-to-non-elite communication process alluded to in Figure 3 can be seen, from the utopian perspective, to be an incomplete conceptualization. The articulation of differential interests within the non-elite can result in the emergence of alternative, and potentially realizable utopian belief and value systems; these value systems stand in the relationship of the antithesis of the dominant ideology, and thus the two, together, constitute the societal dialectic at the communication level of analysis.

PREMISE IV: Collective interests of specific social categories within the non-elite can be articulated publically only by proletarian leaders, who emerge from within the non-elite; these interests, when systematized into a coherent belief and value

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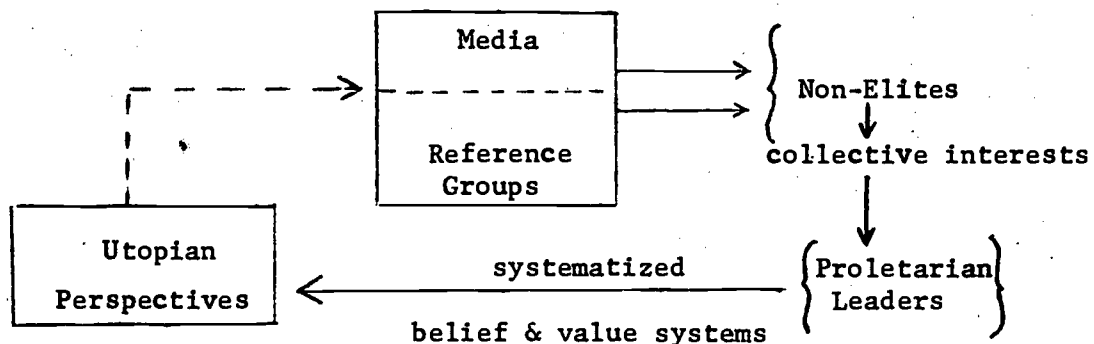
\*While it can be argued that many of the mass communications apparently directed to minority group consciousness are little more than white exploitation of those groups, the steady growth in ownership/control of media organizations suggests that exploitation is not the single explanatory factor in this case.

system, are termed utopian [ideological] perspectives.

Recalling that Premise III argues that the dominant relations of production are the source of ideologies disseminated through the mass media, Premise IV appears to pose a contradiction in formulation. We should like to point out quickly that such a contradiction exists only when one's approach to the issue of social change is grounded in an evolutionary perspective. This apparent contradiction is in fact an integral and necessary component in a dialectical social change perspective which the present model assumes and embraces.

A major problematic issue in the dialectical process is the methodology by which utopian perspectives achieve the status of belief and value media inputs. While this is an empirical question, and can only be resolved through extensive research, the problem can be conceptualized in the following way:

Figure 5.



As illustrated in Figure 4, dominant ideologies are articulated to the viewing, reading and listening public through those persons termed "leaders." In the case of Figure 5, however, it is the proletarian leaders who systematize collective interests into an integral value system, rather than the affiliated elites, as sketched out in Figure 4; and there is an implicit assumption that it is those individuals, too, who articulate the utopian perspectives, once systematized. It would be appropriate to assume that the unaffiliated elites play a role in both the formulation of utopian perspectives and their public articulation.



PREMISE V: Non-affiliated elites function, intellectually, in the same way as affiliated elites, in that they assess and reflect the experiences and subsequent vulnerabilities of various non-elite social categories.

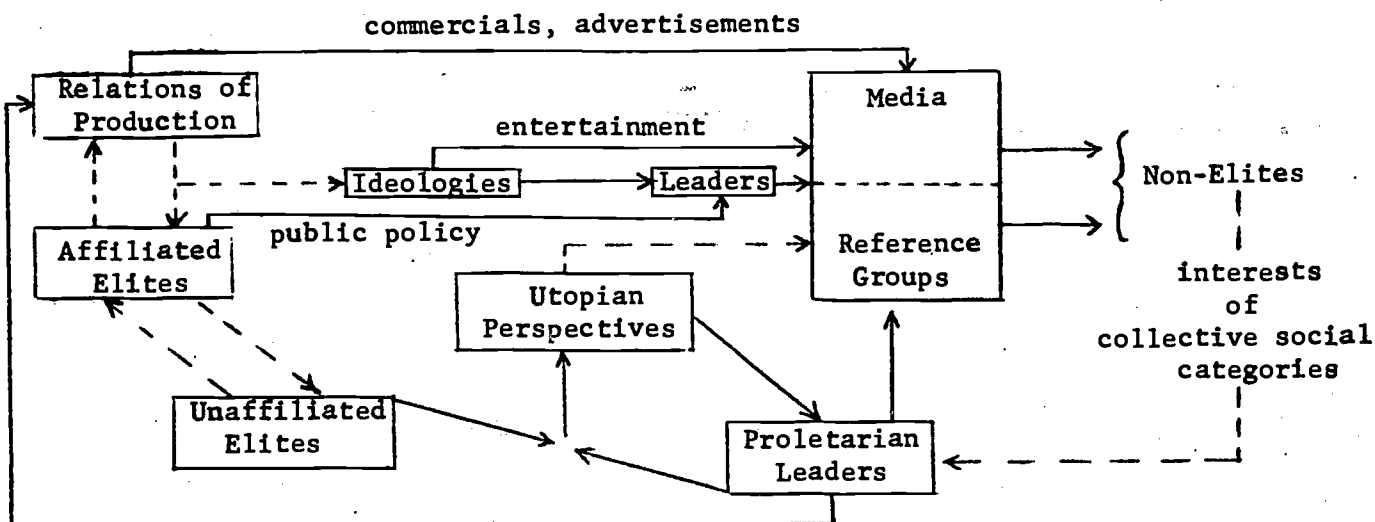
This premise, then, would posit that there is an intervening variable in the process by which collective interests are systematized into utopian ideological perspectives. That variable is the assessment/reflection process of the elites, both affiliated and non-affiliated. It would not be in the interests of the prevailing relations of production, and elites affiliated with those relations, to aid in the systematization of antithetical belief and value systems. However, because non-affiliated elites have no vested interest in the prevailing relations of production the same constraints are not present for them. Thus it is posited that it is the non-affiliated elites, also dealers in ideas, values, and moralities, who intervene and are able to systematize a given set of collective interests.

### III

Many more questions have been raised than answered in the previous discussion of the components of mass communication. It may well appear that there has been an overemphasis on antecedents to the mass communication process. Indeed, such was the intention of the discussion; these areas have not previously played the major role in the considerations of the mass communication process that we feel they should. As noted initially in the discussion of components of the mass communication process, the central concern addressed by the model is an understanding of the social factors which underly and, in essence, govern the formulation and transmission of various types of media content.

The basic components of the model have been presented and discussed at length in Figures 4 and 5. Figure 6, below, presents the synthesis of this material.

Figure 6.



While no direct link between the utopian perspectives and the mass media is provided in the model, it is felt that this is consistent with the logic of the discussion in the previous section. That is, because there is an implicit control exerted over media content (or, influence, if a less potent term is preferred) by economic factors, utopian perspectives cannot be legitimized into and/or through media content until its proponents are engaged, at the economic level, in control and direction of the forces of production.

The model we have presented here is suggested as a heuristic device. We do not view it as a final statement of "truth." Both its strengths and weaknesses are readily apparent. It seeks to determine antecedents, in the form of societal relationships to media content. It suggests that media content not only reflects the Weltanschauung of a public but also defines that Weltanschauung. As such, the model presents and demands a perspective not popularly used in mass communication study. It maintains the "status quo maintenance" perspective put forth by DeFleur, but allows for social change via a dialectic process rather than the somewhat elusive evolutionary-cumulative process which usually marks contemporary mass communication perspectives.

NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Joseph Klapper, The Effects of Mass Communication (NY: The Free Press, 1960).
- <sup>2</sup> Wilbur Schramm, particularly The Process and Effects of Mass Communication (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1954), p. 26.
- <sup>3</sup> Melvin DeFleur, Theories of Mass Communication (NY: McKay, 1970).
- <sup>4</sup> This phenomenon is well discussed in Gordon Allport, "The Historical Background of Modern Social Psychology," Handbook of Social Psychology, Vol. I, 2nd Ed. (Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley, 1969).
- <sup>5</sup> The neglect of societal/environmental /antecedent/ conditions is most elegantly illustrated in the content analyses of print media: Edward B. Coney, "Conflict and Cooperation Content of Five American Dailies," Journalism Quarterly, 30 (1953), 15-22; Elmer Cornwell, "Presidential News: The Expanding Public Image," Journalism Quarterly, 36 (1959) 275-283; J.A. Hart, "Foreign News in U.S. and English Daily Newspapers: A Comparison," Journalism Quarterly, 43 (1966), 443-448; Bryce Rucker, "News Services' Crowd Reporting in the 1956 Presidential Campaign," Journalism Quarterly, 41 (1964), 545-556; Guido Stemple, "The Prestige Press Covers the 1960 Presidential Campaign," Journalism Quarterly, 38 (1961), 157-163; B.H. Westley, et al., "The News Magazines and the 1960 Conventions," Journalism Quarterly, 40 (1963), 525-531, 647.
- <sup>6</sup> Charles Wright, Mass Communication (NY: Random House, 1959).
- <sup>7</sup> Wright, p. 14.
- <sup>8</sup> Wright, p. 15.
- <sup>9</sup> C. Wright Mills, The Power Elite (NY: Oxford, 1959). See also, Power Politics and People: The Collected Essays of C. Wright Mills, Irving L. Horowitz, Ed. (NY: Oxford, 1963).
- <sup>10</sup> Herbert Blumer, Symbolic Interactionism: Perspective and Method (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1969), p. 105.
- <sup>11</sup> DeFleur, p. 75.
- <sup>12</sup> DeFleur, p. 159.
- <sup>13</sup> Richard Maisel, "The Decline of Mass Media," Public Opinion Quarterly, Summer (1973), p. 169.
- <sup>14</sup> Herbert I. Schiller, "Mind Management: Mass Media in the Advanced Industrial State," Mass Media and Society, Alan Wells (Ed.) (Palo Alto: National Press, 1972), pp. 283-295.
- <sup>15</sup> Howard Lewis, "The Cuban Revolt Story: AP, UPI, and Three Papers," Journalism Quarterly, 37 (1960), 573-578, 646.

<sup>16</sup>Eugene Rosi, "How 50 Periodicals and the Times Interpreted the Test Ban Controversy," Journalism Quarterly, 41 (1964), 545-556.

<sup>17</sup>Kurt Lang and Gladys Engel Lang, "The Unique Perspective of Television and Its Effect: A Pilot Study," The Process and Effects of Mass Communication, Wilbur Schramm and Donald Roberts (Eds.), (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1971), 169-188.

<sup>18</sup>May Brodbeck, "Models, Meaning and Theories," Readings in the Philosophy of the Social Sciences (NY: Macmillan, 1968), p. 580.

<sup>19</sup>Schiller, p. 288.

<sup>20</sup>J.F. Seggar and Penny Thomer, "The New World of Work on TV: An Analysis of the Discrepancies in Ethnic and Sex Representation and Performance Time," A paper presented to the International Communication Association Symposium on Mass Communication Perspectives, Atlanta, Ga., April, 1972.

<sup>21</sup>Surgeon General's Report on Television and Social Behavior, G.A. Comstock and E.A. Rubenstein (Eds.), (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972).

<sup>22</sup>Until the advent of local community-oriented cable TV, this function was admittedly a minor and sadly neglected one. Present media utilization trends suggest that the potential for expansion of this function is present in most local settings, although not necessarily being exploited because of economic factors.

<sup>23</sup>R. K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (NY: Free Press, 1968).

<sup>24</sup>Merton, p. 494 ff.

<sup>25</sup>See the discussion of this rather rudimentary model in Everett Rogers and Floyd Shoemaker, Communication of Innovations (NY: Free Press, 1971), p. 203ff.

<sup>26</sup>Rogers and Shoemaker, p. 205 ff.

<sup>27</sup>"Forces of production" refers to the classic Marxian conceptualization of the economic organization of society, and generally includes such items as land, natural resources, technical equipment, and human labor. "Relations of production" refers to the way in which these forces are organized in the sphere of economic output; in the present case, these relations would be characterized as capitalism. The implicit assumption, often unstated in the paradigm, is ~~that~~ the ideological outputs will be inherently conservative and directed to the reinforcement of the prevailing relations of production and value structure of the society.

<sup>28</sup>This term is generally defined as a system of interdependent beliefs held by a social group, which defends its particular social, moral, religious, economic and/or political interests and commitments.

<sup>29</sup>Karl Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia (NY: Harcourt and Brace, 1936), 131-154.

<sup>30</sup>William Kornhauser, The Politics of Mass Society (NY: Free Press, 1959).

<sup>31</sup>Mannheim, Ch. 4.

<sup>32</sup>It would be inconsistent, however, to not take into consideration the social position of newly emerging, unaffiliated elites. Historically, emergence of utopian ideological perspectives is and has been associated with identifiable class interests. Thus, in the present model, it will be assumed that utopian perspectives emerge and prosper as a result of newly articulated, but previously subdued class interests.

<sup>33</sup>Chris Wells, "Can Mass Magazines Survive?" Columbia Journalism Review, July/August (1971).